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Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 AEC-11 OIC-04

OMB-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 DRC-01 SCI-06 FEA-02 ACDA-19

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R 280728Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2953
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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TAGS: PARM, TECH, IAEA, JA, US, XF

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SUBJECT: JAPAN AND INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS

REFS: (A) TOKYO 8008; (B) TOKYO 8349

SUMMARY: RECENT NUCLEAR TESTS AND US OFFERS OF REACTORS TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL (BOTH NON-SUPPORTERS OF NPT) HAVE THROWN GOJ POLICY OF SEEKING EARLY RATIFICATION OF NPT INTO DISARRAY. INDICATIONS FROM FONOFF AND OTHER OBSERVERS ARE THAT JAPANESE BELIEVE US OFFERS SOMEWHAT CONTRADICT US POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR NPT AND UNDERCUT GOJ RATIONALE IN DEVELOPING CONSENSUS FOR RATIFICATION. RATIONALE HAS BEEN BASED, AT LEAST PARTIALLY, ON PREMISE THAT ONLY BY RATIFICATION COULD JAPAN ENSURE FUTURE SUPPLIES OF NUCLEAR FUEL. SOME OBSERVERS CONCLUDE THAT IF CURRENT INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE THREATENING NON-PROLIFERATION PERSISTS, OPPORTUNITY WILL BE LOST, PERHAPS FOREVER, FOR ENDING SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WHILE DIFFICULT TO PREDICT OUTCOME OF CURRENT JAPANESE REVIEW OF NUCLEAR SITUATION, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT UNLESS DEVELOPMENTS TRANSPIRE TO REVERSE ADVERSE TRENDS, GOJ MAY FIND IT POLITICALLY DIFFICULT TO RATIFY NPT. END SUMMARY

1. GOJ POLICY OF MOVING TOWARD EARLY RATIFICATION OF NPT HAS BEEN JEOPARDIZED BY SERIES OF NUCLEAR TESTS, USG ANNOUNCEMENT OF INTENT TO PROVIDE EGYPT AND ISRAEL NUCLEAR REACTORS AND FUEL, AND DAILY PRESS REPORTS INDICATING THAT INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS RESTRAINING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION MAY BE BREAKING DOWN. RENEWED TESTS BY FRANCE, CHINA AND UK WOULD NOT ALONE HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY UNSETTLING TO JAPAN. HOWEVER, CONCURRENT ENTRY OF INDIA INTO NUCLEAR CLUB AND, PARTICULARLY, USG DECISION TO PROVIDE NUCLEAR FUEL TO TWO NATIONS WHICH REFUSE TO RATIFY NPT, HAVE LED FONOFF TO QUESTION WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

2. IN PRESS BACKGROUNDERS (DESCRIBED IN DETAIL TO EMBOFF BY FRIENDLY REPORTERS), FONMIN OHIRA AND VICE FONMIN TOGO INDICATED THAT GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD

PROLIFERATION, VARIOUS NUCLEAR TESTS AND DOMESTIC JAPANESE REACTION (NAMELY, STRENGTHENING OF POSITION OF OPPONENTS TO NPT) FORCE GOJ INTO BASIC RECONSIDERATION OF NUCLEAR POLICY. RECONSIDERATION FOCUSSES ON PROPOSITION THAT BY SIGNING (RPT SIGNING) NPT JAPAN HAS ALREADY FORMALLY RECORDED ITS OPPOSITION TO PROLIFERATION. QUESTION IS WHETHER, IN LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, JAPAN MUST NOT RECONSIDER IF IT IS DESIRABLE OR NECESSARY TO RATIFY (RPT RATIFY) TREATY

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WHICH IS WIDELY REGARDED IN JAPAN AS UNEQUAL AND WHICH WOULD (PRESUMABLY) PRECLUDE JAPAN'S EXERCISING NUCLEAR OPTION.

3. PARTISAN POLITICS ALSO ENTER INTO GOVERNMENT'S CALCULATIONS. FONOFF PUBLIC INFORMATION BUREAU DIRGEN KURODA HAS TOLD CANADIAN EMBASSY MINISTER THAT PM TANAKA IS CONCERNED THAT IF GOVERNMENT PRESSES AHEAD, FINMIN FUKUDA COULD USE ISSUE TO RALLY CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION WITHIN LDP AGAINST TANAKA.

4. PM TANAKA'S ANNOUNCEMENT LAST DECEMBER THAT GOJ WOULD SEEK EARLY RATIFICATION OF NPT GREW PARTIALLY OUT OF OIL CRISIS. TANAKA BASED NEW CALL FOR RATIFICATION ON PREMISE THAT JAPAN MUST RATIFY NPT AS PRESUMED PREREQUISITE TO GUARANTEE NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY PRIMARILY FROM US. THIS PREMISE AND, THEREFORE, TANAKA'S ARGUMENT ARE CONSIDERED BY MANY JAPANESE TO HAVE BEEN DESTROYED BY US OFFERS TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THUS, MANY SEE PRESENT THREAT TO NPT AS COMING PRIMARILY FROM US ACTION AND ONLY SECONDARILY FROM INDIA'S EXPLOSION.

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00

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APPARENTLY MINDFUL OF THIS SENTIMENT, FONOFF HAS BEEN
CAREFUL DURING PRESS BRIEFINGS TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN
POSITION OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT, WHOSE NUCLEAR FUEL REQUIRE-
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MENTS ARE LIMITED, AND JAPAN, WHOSE REQUIREMENTS ARE SO
LARGE AS TO IMPELL NPT RATIFICATION SO AS TO AVOID QUOTE
UNEASINESS UNQUOTE IN MINDS OF SUPPLYING COUNTIRES.

5. IN CANDID DISCUSSION JUNE 26, YOSHIRO KAWASHIMA,
DIRECTOR, NUCLEAR MATERIALS CONTROL CENTER AND
SOBER, ASTUTE OBSERVER, DESCRIBED TO EMBOFF COMMON
REACTION TO US MIDDLE EAST NUCLEAR OFFERS AND
CURRENT STATE OF JAPANESE NUCLEAR POLITICS.
HE EXPRESSED BEWILDERMENT AND FRANK DOUBT ABOUT
US COMMITMENT TO NPT IN LIGHT OF OFFERS TO EGYPT
AND ISRAEL. OFFERS CONTRADICTED EXPRESSED US
SUPPORT FOR NPT AND UNDERCUT RATIONALE EMPLOYED
BY GOJ PROPONENTS OF NPT IN URGING RATIFICATION.

6. KAWASHIMA NOTED QUANTUM CHANGE THAT HAS ALREADY
TRANSPIRED IN JAPAN SINCE INDIA EXPLODED NUCLEAR
DEVICE. TWO MONTHS AGO NO JAPANESE POLITICIAN OR
OFFICIAL WOULD HAVE OPENLY ADVOCATED RETAINING
NUCLEAR OPTION, BUT ADVOCACY IS NOW COMMONPLACE
IN LDP RIGHT-WING CIRCLES. HE ASSERTED THAT IF
PERMISSIVE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE CONCERNING
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION PERSISTS, ACCOMPANIED BY
REPORTS TO EFFECT THAT VARIOUS NATIONS OR GROUPS
(INCLUDING TERRORISTS LIKE PLO) WERE CONTEMPLATING
OR BUILDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, CONSENSUS IN JAPAN

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OPPOSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD ERODE RAPIDLY. INDICATIONS THAT NORTH OR SOUTH KOREA MIGHT GO NUCLEAR WOULD HAVE PARTICULARLY DEVASTATING EFFECT IN JAPAN.

7. PRESS ALSO EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER DEVELOPMENTS AND PERMISSIVE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE IN NUCLEAR MATTERS. FONOFF BACK-GROUNDERS HAVE BEEN WIDELY CITED. EDITORIALS HAVE DEPLORED NUCLEAR DIRECTION WORLD SEEMS TO BE GOING AND MOST ADVOCATED JAPAN'S MOVING AHEAD WITH RATIFICATION, REGARDLESS, (A) TO DEMONSTRATE FIDELITY TO NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES, (B) TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP, AND (C) TO BE IN POSITION TO EXERT INFLUENCE, PRIMARILY ON NUCLEAR SUPERSTATES,

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TO STOP PROLIFERATION, CEASE COMPLETELY OWN NUCLEAR TESTS, AND CONCLUDE EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. OTHERWISE, AS ASAHI CONCLUDED, CONTINUATION OF SELF-RESTRAINT BY NON-NUCLEAR NATIONS COULD NOT BE EXPECTED. PAPERS JOINED FONOFF AND OTHERS, LIKE KAWASHIMA, IN SAYING WORLD'S FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WAS TO ESTABLISH DURABLE STRUCTURE FOR PREVENTING FURTHER PROLIFERATION.

8. COMMENT: THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS, PERHAPS ESPECIALLY US OFFERS TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL, HAVE CAUSED CONSTERNATION AMONG LEADING ADVOCATES OF NPT IN GOJ. JAPAN'S SECURITY HAS BEEN PREDICATED ON CONTAINMENT OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND GENERAL MOVEMENT TOWARD DISARMAMENT, TWO PREMISES WHICH NOW APPEAR THREATENED. AS PM TANAKA SAID PUBLICLY LAST WEEK, JAPAN IS AT MOMENT NOT SERIOUSLY TOYING WITH IDEA OF CHANGING ITS THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES (NOT TO MANUFACTURE, HOLD, OR PERMIT NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO BE INTRODUCED INTO JAPAN) BUT QUESTION OF WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION OF NPT UNDER CURRENT INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS AND THEREBY RENEW COMMITMENT TO FOREGO NUCLEAR OPTION IS UNDER SERIOUS RECONSIDERATION. WE CANNOT AT THIS POINT PREDICT WHERE INTERNAL DEBATE WILL COME OUT, BUT IT APPEARS CLEAR THAT IF NO DEVELOPMENTS TRANSPIRE TO REVERSE CURRENT ADVERSE TRENDS, GOJ WILL BE VERY RELUCTANT TO MOVE AHEAD ON RATIFICATION OF NPT.
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Control Number: n/a
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Draft Date: 28 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
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Disposition Authority: golinofr
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Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974062/aaaaabfq.tel
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